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or friends, came together, war being *tapu*. Those visiting in an unfriendly or enemy valley always came, however, armed against possible eventualities, and held themselves ready to depart suddenly, for such times were frequently chosen by the inspirational priest to quickly terminate the festival and announce that his god was demanding human sacrifices. 728

The making of peace was called *e ha'a oa i te toua* or *ha'a tatae* or *tutuki me* (8) and the coconut leaf (*koua'ehi*), the formal sign of peace, was called *kopiti koua'ehi*. (*Kopiti* meant to make an alliance.) When a proposal for peace war made, a representative of the aggressors came upon the hills near the enemy valley and shot off his gun in their hearing. He was then allowed to come and make his proposal. According to Père Siméon (7) at the time of making peace a sacrifice called *heaka vai titi* was offered at the temple. Peace having been agreed upon the pact was sealed by the offering of a victim. Another account says that a messenger seeking peace would go to the enemy carrying a *temanu* branch ornamented with white bark cloth, this symbol being called *manumanu*. This insured safe conduct to its bearer who was known as *pa toua*. The rite of *heaka vai titi* is described by Père Jean (19) as follows:

> When two people were at war, a woman was captured, her body was anointed, decorated with ornaments, and burnt on the sea-shore on a pyre. The ashes were allowed to fall on the shore and to be carried away by the sea. Any women who witnessed this rite would die.

The major formality for peace making, called *hami oa*, was that which was used also for sealing permanent alliances between tribes. Human victims and a tortoise were carried to the temple of the other tribe by the people of the tribe making the pact or peace. The principal priests of the respective tribe received the sacrifices, offered them to the god, and promised that thence forward there would be peace between the tribes—that they were allied, *kopake* (9). An alliance thus sealed was also called *pona hu'u kopake* (*pona*, knot; *hu'u*, riches; *kopake*, allies). Garcia [825] speaks of the great value on Nuku Hiva of turtles and of their use by chiefs as gifts in making alliances with other chiefs. The following note of Mr. Linton's evidently describes an example of this exchange of sacrifices and appears to indicate that the custom of exchange between tribes thus allied was more or less permanent:

> The last *keana* in Pua Ma'u was sent by the queen of Moea, Tauahapaia, to the chief of Pua Ma'u. The body was taken to the *me'ae* (temple) of Pou Ani, and left there. The arrangement was a reciprocal one, *keana* taken by the Pahati being carried to Moea and exposed in the *me'ae* there. This was a recognized method of cementing alliances.

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attachment of separate pieces." "A small *tiki* figure was sometimes but not always attached to the tip of the stern piece." (20.)

Temporary decoration consisted of coconut leaves, white cloth, and human hair; and "coconut fronds, which were commonly placed along the sides of the bow and stern platforms with their lower edges trailing in the water" (20). On the canoe with the two platforms described above, Stewart (26, p. 219) observed three green coconut leaves four or five feet high, which were fastened erect on the bow piece. It is probable that these were symbols of peace. Lines were run from the stern piece to corners of the steersman's platform and from these lines hung tufts of human hair and bits of white cloth (26, pp. 220-1). Stewart (26, p. 304) describes skulls as being lashed on each corner of the platform at the stern of a war canoe. Under the lashings that held the outside binding strip along the gunwale were put white feathers of the tropic bird, so that the plumed ends were visible—these gave the appearance and impression of speed and, doubtless, in the native mind were potent to make actual in the canoe this quality of the tropic bird.

Crews

Modern informants say that the crews of large canoes numbered from one hundred and forty to one hundred and sixty men. Garcia ((14, p. 233), on the other hand, puts the number at forty or fifty. Legends commonly speak of a larger number and relate that, usually, in the Marquesas two hundred and eighty (*e ĥitu touha*—that is to say, seven forties) warriors constituted the crew of a war canoe or a voyaging canoe. The captain (*avu-ika*) had charge of the handling of both fishing and war canoes, and doubtless was usually, if not always, the steersman—his name indicating that he was a fisher by profession. The captain stood on the stern platform which was also the place of the chief. A large paddle (*kapekape, uki*) served for steering. In small canoes paddlers sat two on a seat, in large canoes four abreast, working in shifts, two by two. They paddled rythmically in unison (14, pp. 233-4).

While part of the crew was occupied in paddling, others were busy bailing.

Ownership of Canoes

The information given by modern natives led me to believe that a large canoe was always the property of the chief of the tribe. Porter, however, gives interesting evidence of parts of a single canoe being owned by different individuals. He says (24, p. 101):

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778 the front roof, was open. The whole structure was thatched with bread-
346 fruit leaves. In Atu Ona, it was said that this house was thatched with palmetto leaves. The house in Pua Ma'u was said to have been built ten arm spans (*mao*) high (one *umi*, or ten *mao*—about sixty feet) and at the base about three spans (eighteen feet) long and three spans wide.

It is said that twelve hundred poles of *fau* were required to make the framework of this structure. By being lashed together the supports of the ridgepole and thatch were made long enough to atttain the great height required. Although the temple assistants erected the house, the aid of the whole tribe was required to get the materials. Outside the house, either in front of it or around it, was a restricted area marked off by about sixty peeled *fau* stakes (*koufau*) decorated with white and reddish cloth, indicating the limits of the most sacred restricted area. No one lived in the *fa'e tukau*. It was regarded as the house of the inspirational priest, but just how he made use of it in connection with his oracular duties, modern informants were unable to tell me. At Pua Ma'u, Pupuke was the god of the *fa'e tukau* and was supposed to live inside. There was, however, no image.

Such a house on Nuku Hiva is mentioned by Garcia (14, pp. 57-58). He speaks of a pyramidal house within the precincts of a *me'ae* that he visited. Dordillon (8) gives as a meaning for the word *fa'e tu'a*, a house pointed in the form of an obelisk. Porter (24, p. 111) describes such structures in a Nuku Hiva *me'ae*. To the right and left of images, which he describes in this sacred place were

> two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and cocoanut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth. . . . The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height, and about the base of them were hung the heads of hogs and tortoises.

These would appear to be much less elaborate and permanent structures than those described to me as being built at Pua Ma'u, but there is little doubt that they were for the same purpose.

778 On top of the ridge pole of the inspirational priest's house were orna-
346 ments called *manu ku'a* (red bird), one for every arm span (*mao*) of
825 height, placed at equal intervals along the ridge pole and at right angles to it. The *manu ku'a* was a mythical bird of red plumage. Some native stories recount voyages made in search of its feathers. These bird figures on the priest's house were made by splitting a section of bamboo with many slits, spreading them and stuffing cloth inside to form a roundish body. This frame, wrapped in white cloth that was afterwards stained red with the juice of the fruit of the *mahiha* (?), formed the body of the *manu ku'a*. Another piece of bamboo, wrapped in cloth that had been

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dyed in the same way, was attached to the body to represent the neck and head. There were no legs, the figures being attached directly to the thatch on the ridge pole. At equal intervals between the *manu ku'a* were placed other ornaments called *hukihuki*, made of three small pieces of *opini* (?) wood sharpened at the ends and wrapped in white and red cloth. These ornaments like the *manu ku'a*, were placed at right angles to the ridge pole, long strips of white cloth being left pendant so that they hung down on either side of the roof. These ornaments with their pendant strips indicated that the house was *tapu*. It is said that they were never removed but when worn out were refurbished and replaced. They were the property of the inspirational priest (*tau'a*), and when he died were buried with him.

Light is shed upon the subject of these bird symbols (*manu ku'a*) and the priestly emblems (*hukihuki, opini*), by certain notes of Père Pierre (7), the gist of which is as follows: There were three orders of gods—gods of the sky, gods of the land and sea, and gods of the underworld. The chief gods of the sky were three. In their honor the three cries (*kono*) were uttered by the ceremonial priest when human sacrifices were brought, and the three bundles of *fau* stems were erected upon the *me'ae* on the occasion of funerals of inspirational and ceremonial priests. Upon the occasion of such funeral rites the third of the gods of the sky, Te-hiti-kaupeka, was represented by coconut leaves braided, or by pieces of wood cut roughly, in the form of a bird, this emblem being the embodiment (or perhaps the messenger) of this god, which received the spirit of the deceased priest and conducted it to the sky. The *manu ku'a* would seem, then, to represent this bird messenger; and the *hukihuki* to be identified with the bundle of *fau* stems mentioned by Père Pierre.

Within the *fa'e tukau* was an *ananuu* (see Shrines). There were no images of any kind. Three pieces of wood spoken of as *papa* (plank or board), one apparently resting on the *ananuu*, the second midway up in the interior, were suspended or attached to the sides, and a third was hung beneath the ridge of the roof. On each of these, after writing had been introduced, the following legend was inscribed with the burnt end of a *fau* stick: *"Te ani puta ia Fai"* (The sky hole of Fai.) Before the introduction of writing, a symbol which stood for the same thing was used. It consisted of four designs (*tiki*) named *tava* enclosing an open space in the middle (see fig. 22, *b*) representing the cave—the sky hole of Fai—from which the god Fai was supposed to have brought fire. The very fragmentary account of how Fai sought fire in a cave or hole on top of the mountains is given in the section on myths and legends.

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MISCELLANEOUS TOOLS

Quiros (51) says that the Marquesans used adzes made from thick fish bones or shells. This is the only evidence of the occurrence of these implements in the Marquesas and as no examples are known, it seems probable that Quiros confused the Marquesas with some of the low coral islands visited on the same voyage.

Sharks' teeth, hafted in various ways, were formerly used as knives and carving tools, but no specimens seem to have survived and the methods of hafting have been forgotten by the present natives. According to Langsdorff (38, p. 175) the teeth from the lower jaw of the shark were used as substitutes for gimlets or awls, being fastened to wooden handles. Sharks' teeth, apparently unhafted, were also used as razors. The hair was gathered in small bunches and the tooth sawn back and forth across it at the roots.

Very few bone tools appear to have been used in the Marquesas. Fleurieu (23, p. 135) mentions the use of bone awls. Narrow wedge-like implements of bone or hard wood were used to pound the feather caulking into the bow and stern seams of canoes. Bone knives are described on page 351.

A number of shell implements appear to have been employed in wood carving, although we have no information as to their form. The grooves in *toa* wood tapa beaters are said to have been cut with pearl shells ground to a keen edge, and the handles were shaped with a small black shell, called *mama*. Fleurieu (23, p. 135) says that the Marquesans used "pieces of shell of different shapes and sizes, sharp or toothed like a saw." Knives made from whole pearl shells ground to a sharp edge were used for a number of purposes. There appears to have been no clear distinction between these and the shell scrapers used in tapa making.

Rasps made from the skin of the shark or giant ray were used in shaping clubs and other objects made from the hard *toa* wood. They were made by wrapping the skin around a smooth stick while it was wet and soft. One end of the stick projected a few inches beyond the skin, forming the handle. (See Pl. LVI, *A*.) Fine shark skin, apparently not mounted, was used in polishing bowls and other wooden objects. Sections from the tail of the giant ray were also used as rasps, requiring no preparation other than drying. These tail rasps have continued in use until modern times for the grating of sandal wood, although recently they have been supplanted by files. The spines of the sting ray are said to have been hafted and used as saws.

Chisels edged with rats' teeth were formerly used by expert Marquesan artisans in the carving of hard stone. None of these implements have survived,

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415 cups were rather dull, but with handling they acquired a beautiful glossy polish. Many cups were provided with a cord handle by which they were hung up when not in use. This handle consisted of a loop of sennit passed through a hole a short distance below the rim, the inner end being kept from slipping back either by a knot or by a small disk of pearl shell, like a button. (See Pl. LVIII, *A*, 1.) The finer grade of cups were used principally in kava drinking, which gave the inner surface of the cup a coating of glossy yellow enamel, like lacquer.

It is difficult to draw any line between cups proper and bowls, as the two classes grade imperceptibly into each other. As a rule the bowls are larger and thicker walled, and most specimens have recurved rims, that is, they are made from more than half a nut. Most of these bowls are provided with handles by which they can be suspended horizontally. One specimen in the Bishop Museum has the handle cut in one piece with the body of the bowl (Pl. LVIII, *A*, 2), but as the bowl is evidently unused it seems doubtful whether this is an ancient form. The handles of old specimens are of cord and appear to conform to a single type. (See Pl. LVIII, *A*, 3.) They were made as follows:

A pair of holes were pierced through either side of the shell a short distance below the rim. A loop of sennit cord was passed through each pair of holes, the ends protruding on the outside. A large black seed was then threaded upon each end of the loop and pushed down against the outer surface of the utensil. A cylinder of human bone, carved with horizontal grooves, was next threaded on, followed by another seed. The two strands of cord were then brought together and passed through a short thick ornament cut from the shaft of a human humerous, carved into a tiki figure. Above this ornament both strands were threaded through a single black seed and closely wrapped with a strand of fine sennit, giving them the appearance of a single cord. The ends of the loops were either tied together above the center of the bowl or interwoven and enclosed in a continuous wrapping which concealed the point of juncture. Bowls arranged for suspension in this way were frequently provided with carved wooden covers like those used for gourds. Bowls were usually rougher in finish than cups and were rarely carved.

Coconut bottles were made from the whole nut, the kernel was removed by a simple but ingenious method. (See Pl. LVIII, *C*.)

825 A large ripe nut was husked and the shell around the largest eye ground away to form an aperture about one inch in diameter. The nut was then placed in some stream where fresh water shrimps were plentiful and was left for a few days. The shrimps, entering through the aperture, picked the interior of the shell clean and left it ready for use. One of the smaller eyes was then pierced with a pointed stick and a loop of heavy cord passed through and secured on the inside, the outer end of the loop serving as a handle for the bottle. A wooden stopper for the large aperture completed the utensil, which appears never to have been decorated.

A slightly different type of bottle was used for the storage of scented oil for the hair (Pl. LVIII, *B*).

These utensils were made from small, thick shelled nuts having a more or less pointed stem end, which was ground off to below the eyes. The kernel was removed by the method just described. Most bottles of this sort were elaborately carved, some of the specimens ranking among the finest products of the native art.

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TRUMPETS

As Marquesan musical instruments, trumpets (*pu*) stand next in importance to drums. They are made of *mio* wood and of Cassis and Triton shells. 534 321

The body of the wooden trumpet was a simple tube tapering toward the upper end. (See Pl. LXXII, *D*.) Dimensions of an average specimen are: length, 1 foot, 9 inches; diameter at mouth, 6¼ inches; diameter at upper end, 3 inches. The walls vary in thickness from slightly less than ½ an inch at the lip to approximately 1 inch at the upper end. A mouth piece of bamboo, 8 inches to 1 foot in length and approximately 1 inch in diameter, was fitted into the small end of the tube. It was not attached in any way, and when the instrument was not in use was usually removed and placed inside the wooden part. A few wooden trumpets were decorated with carving; an unfinished specimen in the Bishop Museum bears several designs which appear to have been copied from tattooing.

The trumpet was blown in the same manner as an European bugle. The trumpets still in use give a remarkably clear and penetrating note. One old informant stated that trumpets of this sort were blown by returning fishing parties to summon the villagers to the shore, but no other uses were mentioned.

Two varieties of shell trumpet were used by the Marquesans. The smaller, which appears to have been somewhat rare, was made from the shell of *Cassis rufa* by grinding away the apex of the whorl. A Cassis shell trumpet found in a burial cave in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, can still be blown and gives a clear but not very loud note. (See Pl. LXXII, *B*.) [825]

Most Marquesan shell trumpets appear to have been made from the large shell of *Triton tritonis*. The larger shells of this variety were brought up by divers from considerable depths and seem to have been highly valued. [825]

To prepare the shell for use a hole was ground in the side of one of the whorles a short distance below the tip of the shell, and above this a mouthpiece, made of a small gourd, was attached with breadfruit gum. Handy was informed that the mouthpiece was made of bamboo, but this practice certainly was not general. Langsdorff (38, p. 164) says that the mouthpiece was made from an oil nut, but he is probably in error, for the *aua* nut is too small to have been used in this way.

Triton shell trumpets were usually provided with a band of sennit which served for decoration and also for the attachment of a suspension cord. (See Pl. LXXII, *C*.) A hole was cut in the farthest projection of the lip by sawing a transverse groove in the outer surface of the shell until the channel was reached. A number of small sennit cords were passed through this hole, along the top of the shell, then around the body of the shell a short distance below the apex, and back to the hole again. The separate strands were laid side by side and fastened together at intervals of three or four inches by transverse cords of sennit applied as in simple wrap weaving. There was thus a loop around the apex of the shell and a broad band running longitudinally from the loop to the lip. At either end of the broad band were placed additional lashings from which short loops were made. A long thick cord made from twisted white tapa passed through these loops and served for the suspension of the shell. A tassel, attached just above the lip end of the band, consisted of a number of tresses of human hair which were fastened to strands of sennit in the same manner as in hair ornaments. A tube of human bone, carved into a tiki, was threaded over the sennit cords and concealed all but their inner ends. One of the trumpets examined had been broken and mended with pieces of pearl shell glued on with breadfruit gum. [284]

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victorious with several captives. The power of the deified chief was thus established and he was the god of the valley, speaking to his people through the mouth of his own inspirational priest.

An old man from the island of Ua Pou told me of another instance of the power of a deified chief, which he remembered from his youth. When the chief was old and knew that he must soon die, he said to his followers, "Soon I shall become a god; what do you desire that I do for you after I go to the sky world?" The people asked that he take away the *nonos,* a kind of sandfly which infested the island and caused much distress by its vicious bite. He observed that this would be difficult but that he would do his best. Soon after, the chief died but was not properly deified because the tribe was unable to obtain sufficient captives for the ceremony. The chief, however, overlooked this omission and went to work on the sandflies, so that within three months all the *nonos* had disappeared from the island. This chief is still the dominant deity of Ua Pou. I visited his tomb, a white-washed structure of concrete with a cross at one end and a carved stone image on the other.

The gods were almost all males. Theoretically, women could hold the highest rank, but in practice few women were actually household heads, rulers of tribes, or inspirational priests. In rare cases the eldest daughter of a chief would become chieftainess and rule in her own right, although as a rule the chief adopted a boy if his eldest child was a girl. Such a woman might be deified, but the most powerful deities were invariably male.

Those whose rank did not entitle them to a place in the sky world went to one of the three lower worlds. The lowest of these was the most desirable, while the highest one, the one immediately adjoining the world of living and therefore the easiest to reach, was highly unpleasant, dark and muddy and short of food. The world to which a man went depended on the number of pigs sacrificed at his memorial feast. Those for whom there was only one pig, or none at all, went to the poorest world. The head of the household of the dead person, some time before the memorial feast, went to each house in which

/10 cont./

At childbirth the Marquesan woman is quite free to indulge in histrionics if she wishes, although some prefer to endure in stony silence as the majority of injuries and illnesses are endured. Crying and shouting are permissible, however, a very common theme being: 'E na 'ua mate 'ua! (I'm dying!), followed by: 'aue, or: 'aue ho'i 'e (alas). 844 [152]

The position of the woman during delivery seems to be a relatively variable affair. In one birth at which we assisted, the wife sat on the floor with legs drawn up on a dirty dress with her back against a sandalwood chest, upon which the husband sat. She leaned her head back between his thighs and, extending her arms upward, locked her fingers /11/ behind his neck. He bent over her, pushing downward on her stomach with both hands rhythmically. In other instances the women recline completely for delivery, a practice probably resulting from contact with infirmary routine. One unusual case was reported in which the woman stood, bent over and leaning on a window sill. This experiment was followed by a severe hemorrhage, nearly resulting in death. [352] [177]

The umbilical cord (te aho) is milked, tied with twine and cut, usually with scissors or a knife. As these implements have rarely been cleaned for the occasion, not to mention being sterilized, it is not infrequent that infections of the umbilicus result. At least one infant fatality was attributable to this cause during our stay in Hatiheu (5 months). [412] [165]

The delivery of the afterbirth (pu henua) is not facilitated by massage of the fundus. Those who deliver in the sitting position remain so, until the afterbirth is expelled. Should the afterbirth be delayed, the woman is taken by both arms and legs and shaken violently until the afterbirth comes. This is often followed by a slight hemorrhage.

The afterbirth is taken out after delivery and buried in an area such as the wash house, where it will be constantly damp, the dampness is presumed to keep away ants which would normally devour the tissues should it merely be buried. If ants do attack the afterbirth, it is believed that the infant will suffer an eye infection. Many families today, however, merely [825] [753] [178]

/57 cont./
on Nuku Hiva, only two were known, while an additional reported incident ultimately proved to be an attempt at slander. Of the two occurrences, one involved a brother-sister relationship. The girl in this case was particularly promiscuous by native standards, being frequently compared to a pig or dog in her mating habits. Her brother, also possessed of a poor reputation, was married to a syphilitic tubercular, with whom he did not wish to consort, preferring the company of the promiscuous girls and often his sister.

The other case involved a mother-son relationship. This occurred in public during an orgy of drinking, at a time when the mother was unconscious and the son completely disoriented.

The sentiment against incest within the nuclear family is quite strong, with the imputation of incest being enough to seriously damage an individual's reputation. A middle-aged man had a single child, a daughter, of whom he was quite fond. He carefully protected her from males, hoping to marry her well. In overprotecting his daughter he incurred the wrath of a number of suitors. One of these, who had been involved in trouble with the girl's family previously, spread the rumor that he (the suitor) had had intercourse with the girl and that she had not proved /58/ virginal. When asked who had deflowered her, according to the boy she implicated her father, saying that they had intercourse in the bush while supposedly cutting copra.

The effect of this rumor was such that the father rushed the girl into an early marriage with an undesirable boy to prove that he was not being overly possessive of his daughter for ulterior reasons.

The most frequent incest is that between first cousins. One of the reasons for the transgression of this tapu is the relatively small size of population units, in many of which it is often impossible to find an unrelated eligible female. In a valley such as Ho'oumi (1958), for example, only two nubile girls were present in a population of approximately 35.